

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 740

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY BONN

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JCS WASHDC

USNMR/SHAPE

USCINCEUR

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E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, MARR, ECIN, NATO, SP

SUBJECT: SPAIN-NATO AND THE SPANISH ELECTIONS

SUMMARY: SUCCESSFUL PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS HAVE BROUGHT SPAIN TO THE THRESHOLD OF NEW FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES, NOT THE LEAST OF WHICH IS THE QUESTION OF THE SPANISH RELATIONSHIP TO NATO. NEITHER FOREIGN POLICY IN GENERAL, NOT NATO IN PARTICULAR, WERE IMPORTANT ISSUES IN THIS ELECTION CAMPAIGN. WHILE VARIOUS POLITICAL LEADERS DID, USUALLY IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS, EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS ON NATO, THERE WAS IN NO SENSE A PUBLIC DEBATE ON THE ISSUE. THIS REMAINS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED IN THE NEW PARLIAMENT. THE SUAREZ GOVT, THE KEY FOREIGN POLICY LEADERS OF WHICH ARE ESSENTIALLY IN FAVOR OF SPAIN'S JOINING NATO, CAUTIOUSLY AVOIDED ANY ACTION WHICH WOULD MAKE SPAIN NATO QUESTION AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN ISSUE.

THE PRINCIPAL MODERATE AND CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL FORCES EXPRESSED THEMSELVES DURING THE CAMPAIGN IN FAVOR OF SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO IF ADEQUATE TERMS CAN BE NEGOTIATED. WHILE THOSE ON THE FAR RIGHT WHO ARE OPPOSED TO SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE DID NOT WIN A SINGLE SEAT IN THE ELECTIONS, DOUBTERS ON THE LEFT (PARTICULARLY THE SPICIALISTS PSOE) DID WELL. IN ANY EVENT, DOMESTIC ISSUES WILL LARGELY TAKE PRECEDENCE IN THE EARLY LIFE OF THE PARLIAMENT AND THERE WILL BE MANY WHO WILL ALSO WISH TO TEST THE EC WATERS FIRST, IF NOT THE WATERS OF GIBRALTAR AND DOMESTIC MILITARY REFORM BY ALL INDICATIONS THUS FAR, IS THE NATO QUESTION IS PUT TO A VOTE IN THE NECT YEAR OR SO THE PSOE WILL OPPOSE IT, AND THE GOS ABSENT A STRONG REASON FOR PUSHING

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THE ISSUE MAY WELL REFRAIN FROM PUSHING IT SOME TIME, EXCEPT IN EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE CIRCLES, THE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES IS TOLERATED IN PART AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR NATO, THERE WAD DURING THE CAMPAIGN A SUBSTANTIAL PARALLELISM BETWEEN ON NATO AND ON THE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES. (THE LATTER WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF A SEPARATE TELEGRAM). END SUMMARY

1. MATCHING THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNERS PRIOR TO THE ELECTION AGAINST THE RESULT LEADS TO THE TENTATIVE CONCLUSION THAT THERE MIGHT BE IN THE LOWER HOUSE A SMALL MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF NATO MEMBERSHIP AND A MUCH CLEARER MAJORITY IN THE SENATE. THOSE IN FAVOR, HOWEVER, ALSO GENERALLY HAVE CONDITIONED THEIR SUPPORT ON SPAIN'S ABILITY TO NEGOTIATE A FAVORABLE ARRANGEMENT, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO GIBRALTAR AND THE ECONOMIC COSTS AND BENEFITS TO SPAIN OF MEMEBERSHIP. QUESTIONS OF NATIONAL PRIDE ALSO ENTER IN, IN WHAT AMOUNTS TO A CONSENSUS THAT MEMBERSHIP WOULD HAVE TO PROVIDE A FULL AND EQUAL SPANISH ROLE. THE OPPOSITION EXPRESSED IN ULTRA CONSERVATIVE CRCLES TO SPAIN'S JOINING NATO IS ESSENTIALLY A REFLECTION OF THE XENIPHOBIV POSITION OF THE FALANGE. OPPOSITION FROM THE LEFT IS EXPRESSED MORE IN TERMS OF OPPOSITION TO MILITARY BLOCS.

THE DESIRE FOR CREATION OF A EUROPEAN "THIRD FORCE" AND THE
DREAM OF MANY SPANISH INTELLECTUALS OF A "ZONE OF PEACE" IN THE
MEDITERRANEAN. ACROSS THE BOARD, CONCERNS HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED
LEST SPAIN TIE HANDS IN THE ARENA OF FOREIGN POLICY TO THE
DISADVANTAGE OF ITS OBJECTIONS VIS-A-VIS THE ARAB WORLD, NORTH
AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA. STILL HEARD ALSO IS A DISTINCTION
MADE BETWEEN JOINING EUROPE (THE EC) AND JOINING THE ATLANTIC
COMMUNITY. STABLER

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2. MOST PARTY PLATFORMS WERE HEAVILY ORIENTED TOWARD DOMESTIC ISSUES. ONLY THAT OF THE ALIANZA POPULAR (AP) (16 LOWER HOUSE SEATS; 2 SENATE SEATS) HIGHLIGHTED A PLANK CALLING FOR THE INCORPORATION OF SPAIN INTO THE WESTERN DEFENSE SYSTEM. ONE AP SPOKESMAN ALSO CALLED FOR THE RETURN OF GIBRALTAR BEFORE SPAIN JOINS EITHER NATO OR THE EC AND FOR ASSURANCE THAT NATO MEMBERSHIP WOULD NOT INTERFERE WITH GOOD SPANISH-MOROCCAN RELATIONS.

3. THE UNION DE CENTRO DEMOCRATICO (UCD) (A PLURALITY OF 166 LOWER HOUSE SEATS; 104 SENATE), UNDER SUAREZ' LEADERSHIP, WAS EQUALLY POSITIVE. A UCD SPOKESMAN TERMED JOINING NATO A LOGICAL STEP AS PART OF SPAIN'S ENTERING EUROPE AND WENT SO FAR AS TO SUGGEST THAT PERHAPS THE GIBRALTAR ISSUE NEED NOT BE RESOLVED DEFINITELY UNTIL AFTER MEMBERSHIP. AS OTHERS HAVE DONE INCREASINGLY, HE, TOO, SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF USING NATO'S PRESUMED INTEREST IN SPAIN TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE EC TO ACCEPT SPAIN ON REASONABLE TERMS.

4. ON THE LEFT, HOWEVER, THE PARTIDO SOCIALISTA OBRERO ESPANOL (PSOE) OF FELIPE GONZALEZ (118 LOWER HOUSE SEATS; 31 SENATE) FIRMLY BACKS SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC AND AN END TO THE INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION OF SPAIN, BUT AT THE SAME TIME REJECTS NATO MEMBERSHIP AND ADVOCATES THE PROGRESSIVE CREATION OF A THIRD FORCE IN EUROPE. THE PSOE HAS NUANCED ITS POSITION ON
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THE NATO ISSUE AND ON THE BILATERAL DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. SOMEWHAT, SUCH AS THROUGH ITS INSISTENCE ON THE RIGHT OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE TO BE CONSULTED AND THE NEED FOR THESE QUESTIONS TO BE CONSIDERED IN A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED PARLIAMENT, WHERE THE PSOE WOULD ABIDE BY THE DECISION OF THE MAJORITY. BUT IT IS CLEAR THEY BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. MILITARY

RELATIONSHIP HELPED KEEP FRANCO IN POWER AND THAT, IF EITHER ISSUE IS BROUGHT TO A VOTE IN THE PARLIAMENT IN THE SHORT TO MEDIUM TERM, THE PSOE WILL OPPOSE. WE DO NOT NOW ANTICIPATE, BUT CANNOT RULE OUT, A CHANGE IN THE PSOE ATTITUDE TOWARD THESE ISSUES OVER TIME, PARTICULARLY IF THERE IS A WORSENING OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS BROUGHT ABOUT, FOR INSTANCE, BY SOVIET INTERVENTION SOMEWHERE IN EUROPE. CONSEQUENTLY, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT PSOE LEADERS BE MADE MORE FAMILIAR WITH WESTERN THINKING ON NATO AND DEFENSE AFFAIRS GENERALLY, IN THE HOPES THAT GREATER UNDERSTANDING MIGHT BRING ABOUT A SEA CHANGE IN PSOE ATTITUDES. WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK IN THIS DIRECTION WITH OUR PSOE CONTACTS AND, HOPEFULLY THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND OTHER WESTERN SOCIALISTS MAY DO THE SAME, BUT MUST CAUTION THAT THIS WILL BE, AT BEST, A SLOW PROCESS.

5. THE TIerno GALVAN-LED PSP/FPS COALITION (6 LOWER HOUSE SEATS; 2 SENATE) CONTINUED TO REFLECT, WE BELIEVE, LIBYAN FINANCING IN ITS EMPHASIS ON PROMOTING NONALIGNMENT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. PSP SPOKESMEN FIRMLY REJECTED NATO MEMBERSHIP AND ADVOCATED THE CLOSING OF U.S. MILITARY FACILITIES IN SPAIN, WHILE CALLING FOR A NATIONAL DEBATE ON EC MEMBERSHIP.

6. THE PARTIDO COMUNISTA ESPANOL (PCE) (19 LOWER HOUSE SEATS; A HANDFUL IN THE SENATE) PROVED SOMEWHAT MORE ELUSIVE ON SUCH ISSUES. IT USED THE LINE OF OPPOSITION TO BLOCS AND THAT OF THE NECESSITY TO CONSULT THE SPANISH PEOPLE, BOTH IN THE PARLIAMENT AND PERHAPS ALSO BY REFERENDUM. ON TV, PCE LEADER SANTIAGO CARRILLO ADVOCATED A NONALIGNED FOREIGN POLICY, BUT WITHOUT SPECIFICALLY ADDRESSING THE NATO ISSUE, AND HIS GENERAL CONDEMNATION OF FOREIGN BASES INCLUDED AN EXPRESSION OF CONFIDENTIAL

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TOLERANCE OF THE EXISTING BASES IN SPAIN UNTIL THE BROADER SECURITY SITUATION IN EUROPE IS CHANGED. THE TACTICAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE CAMPAIGN AND THOSE OF PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS, HOWEVER, ARE NOT NECESSARILY THE SAME FOR THE PCE.

7. NONE OF THE MAJOR POLITICAL FORCES OF THE LEFT OPPOSED TO NATO MEMBERSHIP TNV A SIMILAR LINE WITH RESPECT TO THE EC. THEY CONTINUED TO TREAT THE ISSUES AS ESSENTIALLY SEPARATE, IN CONTRAST TO THE TREND IN THE POLITICAL CENTER TOWARD TYING THE TWO ISSUES MORE CLOSLY TOGETHER.

8. SPANISH PRESS TREATMENT OF THE NATO ISSUE DURING THE CAMPAIGN WAS MIXED. IN CONTRAST TO THE PREDOMINANTLY LEFTIST WEEKLIES, THE MAJOR NATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPERS HAVE BEGUN TO TREAT THE ISSUE MORE OBJECTIVELY AND SOMEWHAT MORE POSITIVELY. "ARRIBA" (PRO-GOVT), "ABC" (CONSERVATIVE), "YA" (ESSENTIALLY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC), "EL PAIS" (CENTER-LEFT),AND "INFORMACIONES" (INDEPENDENT) HAVE ALL MADE RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO DISPASSION-

ATE DEBATE OF THE ISSUE, SOME OF WHICH HAVE BEEN QUITE POSITIVE.
OF THE MAJOR MADRID PAPERS, ONLY "DIARIO 16" ON THE LEFT AND
"ALCAZAR" ON THE RIGHT HAVE BEEN CONSISTENTLY AND OUTSPOKENLY
NEGATIVE.

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9. THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN, THE SPANISH GOVT WOULD TO AVOID THE NATO QUESTION'S BECOMING AN ISSUE PREMATURELY. IN MARCH, IN AN IMPORTANT LECTURE TO THE SPANISH WAR COLLEGE (MADRID 1638), FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA PROVIDED THE INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT FOR A SPANISH DECISION TO JOIN THE ALLIANCE AND, IN DECLARING HIS CANDIDACY ON MAY 3, PRIME MINISTER SUAREZ LISTED AS THE FIRST OF THREE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF AN ACTIVE SPANISH FOREIGN POLICY "ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE WESTERN DEFENSE SYSTEM, WHILE FAVORING MEANS TO BRING THE ARMS RACE TO AN END." WHILE THE KEY INNER FOREIGN POLICY ELITE OF THE SPANISH GOVT (THE KING, SUAREZ, OREJA AND GUTIERREZ MELLADO) CLEARLY FAVORS SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO, OPINION WITHIN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND WITHIN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE GOVT IS MIXED. FOR MANY, THE MENTAL EQUATION IS A COMPLEX ONE INVOLVING, INTER ALIA, UNCERTAINTY REGARDING THE VIEWS OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL AND MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS, ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL PRIDE, GIBRALTAR, THE CANARIES AND THE SPANISH ENCLAVES, THE HOPE FOR A MORE FAVORABLE ARRANGEMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES (INCLUDING PERHAPS "MULTI-LATERALIZATION" OF MILITARY FACILITIES), THE EC QUESTION, THE SEARCH FOR A FRAMEWORK FOR FUTURE RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL, OTHER BROAD FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES AND THE DESIRE TO NEGOTIATE THE BEST ARRANGEMENT WITH NATO, BOTH IN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC TERMS.

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10. THUS FOR THE MOMENT, WORKING-LEVEL GOS OFFICIALS ARE LIMITED TO SEEKING MORE INFORMATION ON THE ALLIANCE AND TO SUGGESTING THAT THEY WOULD WELCOME SOME GESTURES FROM THE NORTH FOR CLOSER DIRECT SPANISH CONTACTS WITH ALLIANCE ORGANS. THE SPANISH GOVT DECISION ON THE TIMING OF A DEBATE ON ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP WILL BE HEAVILY INFLUENCED BY OTHER DEVELOPMENTS BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL TO SPAIN. MEANWHILE, THE STRONGEST SUPPORT IN SPAIN FOR NATO MEMBERSHIP STILL COMES FROM THE SAME PEOPLE WHO ARE THE STRONGEST SUPPORTERS OF EVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL REFORM AND WHO SEE A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THEIR

DOMESTIC OBJECTIVES AND FULL MEMBERSHIP IN THE INSTITUTIONS OF EUROPE AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD. THEY ALSO ACTIVELY SEEK MODERNIZATION AND NEW MISSIONS FOR THE SPANISH MILITARY.

11. THEY HAVE THEIR WORK CUT OUT FOR THEM IN THAT THE MAJORITY OF SPANISH OPINION, INCLUDING THE MILITARY, REMAINS RELATIVELY UNEDUCATED ABOUT THE ALLIANCE AND BEARS THE BURDEN OF PREJUDICES OF THE LONG YEARS OF POLITICAL ISOLATION AND A LONGER TRADITION OF NEUTRALITY. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN LITTLE EXPLICIT RECOGNITION HERE THAT THE ELECTIONS MAY NOT IN THEMSELVES PRODUCE AN ALLIED CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF SPANISH MEMBERSHIP (ALTHOUGH WE EXPECT THAT THE PSOE'S SATISFACTION WITH THE ELECTION RESULTS WILL HELP IN AT LEAST SOME NORTHERN EUROPEAN CAPITALS).

12. SOVIET OBJECTIVES AND THE SOVIET PROPOSALS TO FREEZE THE SIZE OF ALLIANCES IN EUROPE HAVE NOT GREATLY INFLUENCED SPANISH VIEWS; BUT THE SPANISH LEFT HAS HAD SOME SUCCESS WITH SELLING CONCERNS ABOUT THE ECONOMIC COST OF MEMBERSHIP TO SPAIN AND THE POSSIBLE DESTABILIZING EFFECTS OF SPANISH MEMBERSHIP, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO YUGOSLAVIA'S CONTINUED INDEPENDENCE.

13. TWO FINAL CAUTIONS: (1) WHILE THERE HAS INDEED BEEN SOME POSITIVE MOVEMENT IN SPANISH OPINION ON THE NATO QUESTION AS IT BECOMES A MORE REAL ISSUE, THIS HAS NOT BEEN DRAMATIC AND, SHOULD THE NEW SUAREZ GOVT FALL FOR FAILURE TO COPE WITH PRESSING ECONOMIC, CONFIDENTIAL

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REGIONAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES, ITS SUCCESSOR MIGHT WELL BE A GOVT LESS DESIROUS OF SEEKING ADMISSION TO NATO. (2) THERE ARE SIGNS OF GROWING IRRITATION HERE OVER EC REACTIONS TO SPANISH OVERTURES. AS NOTED ABOVE, SUGGESTIONS ARE INCREASINGLY BEING HEARD WITHIN THE GOS AND ELSEWHERE THAT THE NATO MEMBERSHIP ISSUE MAY HAVE TO BE TIED TO THE ISSUE OF EC MEMBERSHIP IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN THE SPANISH HAND WITH RESPECT TO THE LATTER. STABLER

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